

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

343 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the
501 beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach.

364 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village
412 clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 *Huts.* At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of
[177] the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 b). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21×16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty.

[439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as an aid to scrambling in and out. The end of the hut, facing the dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoia*, and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

23

others (see Pl. 4). Here the women work, cook, and gossip; the men may join them if they wish, except the boys wearing the *upi* (leaf hat connected with puberty ceremonies), to whom all that portion of the village is rigorously taboo. 342 562 784 ●

The interior is alike in all. There are no dividing partitions. The floor is the bare earth, trodden hard. The only furniture is a row of broad planks propped up on small logs, along one side of the hut, which serve as beds. Short lengths of bamboo are used as pillows. Between each plank is just space enough for a small fire. There is probably a place for roasting taro with the aid of hot stones, the native oven, at the farther end of the hut near the women's entrance. Cooking pots, the cleaned-out coco-nut shells used to store water, packs for carrying taro, and a few personal possessions, lie on the ground; sometimes a plank is laid across two poles to form a shelf on which such objects can be kept out of the way. Bundles containing more valuable property hang from the rafters, tied up in banana fibre or old loin-cloths. Every returned plantation hand is the proud possessor of a wooden box with lock and key, part of the kit which must be provided by the employer for each of his 'boys' when they 'sign on', which he displays in a prominent position. All sorts of treasures such as medicine bundles, knives, &c., are stowed away between the thatch and the supporting rafters. Nets and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens hang over the cross-poles that form part of the framework of the hut, and there is usually a basket containing some pieces of cold taro in case any one feels hungry at a time when it is not convenient to cook. 342 352 372 415 465 286 251

As a rule, the household consists of father, mother, and children. In the case of polygynous marriages, each wife will usually have her own hut, particularly if she has children, and the husband distributes his company as he pleases, spending a certain amount of time with the woman who ranks as his chief wife, but most of it with the one who for the time being stands highest in favour. A wife who is old or incapacitated, or one whose children have all started out for themselves, will often share a hut with one of the other wives, not always amicably. In some of the Buka villages large huts are now built, housing all the wives of one man; the interior of these is partitioned off into rooms for each. An aged parent of either sex may also form part of the household, the taboo between mother-in-law and son-in-law being relaxed when the former is old. 592 595 342 592 606

- 361 The plan of the village of Kurtatchi, with details (given in Appendix I) concerning the huts of one portion of it, will serve as a concrete illustration of many points bearing on the organization of village life. The huts described formerly belonged to the hamlet of Gomen; they were being transferred to join those already standing at Kurtatchi at the time when I took up my residence in the village.

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION OF KURTATCHI VILLAGE IN 1930¹

- 621 During the nine months I lived at Kurtatchi (January to September 1930), the resident population of that village was made up as follows:

Males.		Females.	
Widowers (1 young)	7	Widows (3 of child-bearing age)	12
Married adults	24	Married adults	35
Adolescent boys (wearing the <i>upi</i>)	25	Adolescent girls	7
Children	14	Children	12
Total	70	Total	66

Total number of both sexes and all ages, 136.

- 162 Apart from temporary variations, occasioned by the payment of visits and the hospitality offered to guests from other villages, which are of constant occurrence, the changes taking place in the population during my stay were as follows. There were two births, 163 but neither of these added to the total, since one of the babies died 165 two days after birth, the other belonged to a woman who came from 574 her husband's village to be confined in her mother's hut; she took the baby home in a few weeks. There was one miscarriage. One woman was known to be pregnant at the time of my departure. One marriage took place, the bride coming to live in her husband's village. There were five deaths, one old man, two middle-aged men, one child about four, and the new-born child above mentioned.
- 167 Two men were away working as indentured labourers. Both returned to live in the village before I left it. Proportionately fewer 881 people were away from this village than usual, because a taboo pre- 784 vented the adolescent boys and the young men who were their sponsors from signing on as indentured labourers until after the performance of the *watawuts* ceremony, an important part of 464 the boys' puberty rites. They were permitted to work on local

¹ I am here concerned not with demographic problems but only with the village as it was when this study was made.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

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764 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbē*- (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama*- or *tsina*- or *tsaa*-. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *ba'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *pasunē*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

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591 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbē*-, even where the

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

75

persons concerned are of opposite sexes, as in the case of a woman and her husband's father. The son's wife spends a great deal of her time between betrothal and marriage living in the hut of her *ruanbē*- and working for them. After marriage the couple may live near them or near the wife's parents, but in the latter case will pay extended visits to her husband's parents at intervals.

14. *Suwan* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by both parents of the husband in reference to both parents of his wife, and reciprocally by the parents of the woman in reference to the parents of the man. At the beginning of the young couple's married life the *suwan* relationship is accompanied by certain taboos which are considered only second in importance to those associated with the *waris* relationship. They do not, however, include any prohibition against seeing each other or against addressing each other directly, except that names may not be used, the term *suwan* serving as a form of address. *Suwan* may not touch one another, they may not eat in each other's presence, or even chew areca-nut together. But there is no objection to their sleeping in the same house.

These restrictions are removed when the wife has her first child, even if it dies. The two mothers prepare food, the two fathers prepare ceremonial pudding, and all four *suwan* eat together, each couple eating what the other couple has prepared, and the taboo is thus lifted.

15. *Taō* (co-wife).

This term is used by one of the wives of a man to refer to, and also sometimes to address, any of his other wives, though there is no restriction on the use of names in addressing one another. No distinction in terminology is made between the first or chief wife, and subsequent wives, but in practice the latter are supposed to give way to the former, though, if they stand high in their husband's favour, they probably will not do so. The man calls his wives *mon* without distinction of priority.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM AND REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

There are no enjoined or preferred marriages in this system. Although the boy may be, and generally is, older than the girl, marriages are, in general, with mates of the same generation.

ADOLESCENT BOYS

199

altogether. The men of the village set up two posts in front of the *tobar*, and fix poles horizontally between them. Food, chiefly consisting of coco-nuts, is then hung over these bars. The novices come up with their *amro*, and walk round the poles as at a *kōma*. This is done in the afternoon. The mothers of the boys then look at their sons for the last time before they put on the *upi* and are removed from home care. There is much display of grief, which is probably not only ritual but real, for the putting on of the *upi* makes a break in the family circle. After a few turns round the poles the boys go into the *tobar*. The one who is second in order of importance goes first, and the highest in rank second. The one of most importance is the novice belonging to the *tsunaun* lineage who stands nearest to the succession to the headship. At Kurtatchi it was Wakuis, Pinari's sister's son, a younger brother of the heir, Kakari. The second was Sankuro, whose descent is given on p. 77. The line of novices and *amro* pass straight through the *tobar*, and come out at the door on its other side. The *amro* take their charges down to a special place on the beach, where the boys are made to drink a mouthful of sea-water. This part of the beach is reserved for them to bathe from, and the women must keep away from it. [565]

After this they remain all the time in the bush, no longer returning to the village at night. Their going away is called *watagi upi* (*watagio* = get out of the way). They make a little house at a special place set apart for them, and there they must sleep for the whole of their period of seclusion. This place and the shelter built on it is called *nōnō*, and is strictly taboo to all but the novices and their *amro*, who sleep with them on the same plank bed. The shelter is a very rough construction, and is allowed to fall to pieces when they have finished with it. [381 784 342]

Rules for the novices.

No instruction on tribal lore or on sexual matters appears to be given to the novices during their seclusion, but the *amro* tell them how they are expected to behave in regard to the wearing of the *upi*, that they must never be seen without it by a woman, that they must fasten it tightly on their heads when they play roughly, that they must make a new cover for it out of *win* leaves when it gets dirty, and so on. [881]

All the time the novices stop in the *nōnō* before the *wapi*

ADOLESCENT BOYS

881 At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to leave Kurtatchi as my time was at an end. The remainder of the preparations for the *watawutj*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

MAKING THE UPI FOR THE WATAWUTJ

881 As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the
294 people of the mountains to come down and help to make the
621 special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutj* (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi* do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*, the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One *tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the *tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi, the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs. [554] One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony. These special *upi* are called *wasōōō*. The Hahon people are paid for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made [465] with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods. [436] Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with marriage?). The *amro* make the payments to the Hahon people, and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

881 The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great
294 tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the
764 workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

ADOLESCENT BOYS

233

day the women must leave the village at sunrise, and go to the bush or to the shore. They cannot stop in the village while the work is actually in progress, but they may come back at sunset, when the men have ceased working on the hats for the day, and may sleep in their own huts. The *amro* and the *kwigin* attend at the *tobar*; it is their province to make the hats, the duty of the Hahon people being merely to cut the patterns from the red leaves. These village men are allowed to go to their own huts to sleep, and they are not forbidden sexual intercourse with their wives during this period. The *upi* boys, who would normally be sleeping in the *tobar*, must avoid those in which the work is being done, and find themselves quarters elsewhere. The *tsunaun* of the village sit in the *tobar* while the work is in progress, but take no part in it. No word must be spoken in the *tobar* while the patterns are being cut out. All the time it is essential that the workers should be well fed, and word is sent to the other villages of the group to bring in pig-meat for the men who are making the hats. The *upi* boys collect large quantities of areca-nut and betel-pepper and coco-nuts for them. The work goes on for several days, until each boy in the group is provided with his special hat. When all are finished, the slit-gong is beaten to let every one know that the making of the hats is over.

A story in my collection, related to me independently of any discussion of the ceremony, is here given as it illustrates the state of tension that prevails in the village at this time:

The people were busy making the hats for the *watawuts*. Ten men were cutting the patterns for ten hats. A woman went to cut firewood; she came back, and threw her load of firewood on to the ground. All the men in the *tobar* jumped up angrily. They asked: 'Who is that there?' They said to one man: 'You go and see who it is making a noise with a bundle of firewood.' The man went and saw the woman, she had thrown down her load of firewood. The man saw her. He went back into the *tobar* and said: 'It is a woman, she is throwing down a load of firewood.' The men all got up, they were very angry, they broke the patterns they were cutting. A *tsunaun* said: 'Go and seize her.' Two men went out and seized her; they pushed her into the *tobar*. They asked her: 'Don't you know this thing is very sacred? You defecate into my hands.' (This was explained to me as meaning: 'You don't know much.') Then all the men had connexion with the woman in the *tobar*. When they had all had connexion with her once, they killed her, and cooked her in a pot in the *tobar* and ate her. Then they cut patterns for the hats a second time, they cut ten. When night came, they lit torches;

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

253

881 happened, and asks her: 'You are bleeding, aren't you?' The girl does not speak, she is afraid, but she nods her head. Her mother asks her: 'Did you see the blood when you got up this morning?' Then her mother tells the other women: 'The girl has broken.' All the women are glad. They call out, and jump about, and shout, and say: 'By-and-by we shall eat a big pig, and have a dance.' They are all glad about the girl, and as they go to work they talk about her, and are pleased.

[262] The girl's mother gives her a little taro, secretly, saying to her: 'You eat it up quickly and don't let any one see you do it.' After that she must go hungry, she must not eat any more. She is forbidden to eat taro, coco-nuts, bananas, pig, or fish, and she must not drink. All that she can have is a kind of areca-nut, which is not strong, and has water in it, so that it moistens her tongue. [824] (This is not the kind of areca-nut which is usually chewed, but a smaller variety, called *gagmorat*, *gag* = drink.)

881 Two children keep her company and go hungry along with her. 784 They must belong to her clan. Both must be too young to menstruate. The girl's mother, father, brothers and sisters (blood and 621 classificatory), and grandparents do not eat either. For a commoner 565 this is enough, but for a girl who is *tsunaun* all the village goes hungry. This fast goes on for about two days, until a certain part of the ceremony is over.

881 When the girl's mother goes to draw water in the evening, she must take all the water-coco-nuts (see p. 289) and hide them in another hut. If she does not want to do this, she must pour away all the water that is not used immediately. If she left any of it in the hut, the girl might steal some and drink it, and that would be very bad for her, for then her blood would flow all the time and would not dry up. The two children who are keeping the girl company may drink a little secretly, without letting the girl see them, and they may eat a little taro also in the same way. After two days the girl may eat a little specially prepared taro, which her mother brings to her secretly, and may drink a very little water, enough to make her tongue cold.

[565] The girl and her two companions must stay inside the hut for five days and nights. If she is a commoner four will be enough. She must sit all the time doing nothing, and must not leave the hut at all except to relieve herself. When this is necessary she puts on a hood, and goes no farther than the back of the hut. One of the

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

881 cooking, and cooks some of them in the pot along with the taro.
 252 The contents of the pot are eaten by the girl only. If the men have brought a great many fish, the girl's mother makes all that are over into packages for roasting in the embers. These are for the other villagers, both men and women.

881 The pot is boiled in the hut where the girl has been secluded—
 784 generally her mother's. The people who are looking after the cooking must neither drink nor eat, nor chew the betel-mixture, but they are allowed to smoke. All the other people of the village must stay in their huts, and must on no account go out, even to relieve themselves. They must not speak, and children must not cry. If any one were to speak the pot might break, and its contents be spilled, and this would be very bad for the girl, causing her always to have an excessive flow at her periods. Meanwhile, two lengths of bamboo are prepared, each cut just past the nodes so that the two ends are closed. When the contents of the pot are properly cooked, these bamboos are heated on the fire, then laid across stones, and two men pound on them with stones in their hands. They explode with a loud bang; this is the signal to all the people of the village that the cooking is done and that they may now talk again and can come outside and approach the hut.

The contents of the pot are turned out on to a *kōbū*. The girl who has been menstruating bends over it so that the steam comes up on to her abdomen. When it is cold she eats the food out of the *kōbū*. When it is all gone, the girl takes the *kōbū* with the water that is left in the bottom of it, and holds it out to another woman, who mixes red paint (*owan*) with this water, and rubs it over the girl's abdomen. This is to 'fasten her belly', so that she will not have another flow too soon. The paint is rubbed on to her abdomen inside the house; then she comes out and shows herself to all the people who have gathered round. They then disperse.

The girl may now eat fish, but is still forbidden pig and canarium almonds. After another interval, which may be several months, another pot of *pipiro* is prepared, with pig and canarium almonds taking the place of fish. The same ritual is gone through as before, and all taboos on food are now removed. *Pipiro* is prepared for a commoner as well as for a woman of rank.

This ceremony is rapidly falling into disuse, as it is discouraged by the missionaries, the climbing of the banana palm with the attendant sexual horse-play being considered undesirable. At

159 All the people of the village, men and women, members of
 881 260 ADOLESCENT GIRLS both

- 784 clans, are fasting. Bwapip (one of the younger men) says he does
 183 not intend to fast; he is going to eat taro and drink water. The
 women are very angry with him; they say that if he does it will
 bring some terrible disaster on the village. I think he is bluffing,
 and will not have the courage to break the taboo, or, if he does,
 it will be in secret.

159 I visited Nawi in her mother's hut. She was lying on the plank
 881 which forms her bed, with a woman's hood across her body.
 Beside her were bunches of leaves, which covered her genitals.
 The three girls were sitting beside her. Various women came in
 [292] at intervals and sat chatting for a while. All the women are wearing
 girdles of banana fibre with cordyline leaves tucked into them at
 the sides and in front.

September 13. A crowd of women are keeping Nawi company,
 and more are grouped on the women's verandah outside. The men
 are all lounging about the village, and no one is doing any work.
 Nawi spends most of her time dozing. When she has to leave the
 [292] hut to relieve herself, she puts on a long hood, and both little girls,
 also wearing hoods, go with her. Ira and Poskea (two of the
 younger women) came and sat on my verandah, saying how hungry
 and thirsty they were. They must not eat or drink until to-morrow.

September 14. All the women of the village collected in or around
 the hut. Two men, Nobit and Wasē, both belonging to the Naboin
 clan but not related to Nawi, were inside the hut, and a number of
 other men, including most of the older men of the village, of both
 clans, were sitting or standing just outside, round the men's
 verandah. Three new *kōbū* had been prepared, and a bunch of
 roots and leaves made up beforehand (for description of this see
 p. 263). Nobit loosened the bundle and held it while Pasu, an old
 woman of the Naboin clan, sprinkled some red paint (*owan*) over
 it and into it. Then he held the bundle of leaves and roots over
 each of the three *kōbū* in turn, while Pasu poured the milk of a
 large number of coco-nuts through the bundle into two of them;
 the third was put underneath to catch the overflow. A length of
 bamboo was put into one of the *kōbū*, and all the women present
 drank some of the mixture in turns, drawing it up through the
 bamboo. Nawi was urged to drink freely, so were the two little
 girls who had been keeping her company. While we were all taking
 turns to drink, Pasu and Takok (Takok is Nawi's *tsuba*) lay at full
 length on the ground, and some of the women indulged in a little

244 the liquid had now been used, was carefully wrapped up and put
796 aside. At the end of the day it was taken back to the village and
hung up again from the rafters of the hut from which it had been
taken. When the taro stalks grow tall it is brought out again, and
they are rubbed with the mixture to hasten their growth. The
mixture remains in the *koba* permanently, being added to when
required, as on the present occasion.

244 Just before Pinari and Kwimau started out to wash the taro
796 stalks an animated discussion arose among the men. They wanted
Sobak to help with the washing. But he said he did not want to be
debarred from fishing. Those who perform this office may not go
fishing until the taro has started to grow, and has been weeded
once. If this taboo were broken the taro leaves would all shrivel
up and the taro be spoiled. So Pinari excused Sobak, saying he
would do it all himself. He does not fish very much in any case.
Kwimau was also debarred from going near the sea, even from
searching for shell-fish on the dry reef at low tide.

244 As Pinari finished washing each bundle of stalks the men set to
796 work on the plots, making holes with their digging poles (Pl. 40).
They pushed the poles into the ground with all the force they
could muster, from some height above their heads, and then turned
the pole in the ground so as to enlarge the hole. Some of the
younger and more vigorous women shared in this task, but most
of the women did not attempt it. As soon as the holes were ready
the women planted taro stalks in them. First they took a couple
of handfuls of earth out of the hole, then put two taro stalks into
each, pressing them down very firmly. Then they pushed the
earth they had removed down between the two stalks, pounding
it down with both hands clenched. Great stress was laid upon the
proper performance of this very practical procedure, and the women
continually exhorted each other, and me, to press the earth down
hard. If any leaves remained upon the stalk they were turned down-
wards and pressed into the hole, which was not always completely
filled. The plants were put in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart, roughly in lines.

Round the coco-nuts in the middle of each plot they planted
special kinds of taro with red stalks. These are extra fine varieties.
They talk to the ordinary taro, saying: 'We must grow quickly, we
are afraid of these two men here who are watching us.' This refers
to the two bits of wood which were planted close to the coco-nut
in the middle of each plot.

The new put in posts for
AESTHETIC ARTS

429

them to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by gestures.)

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done. The blood is caught in a *koba* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred paces for the horizontal section of the platform.

AESTHETIC ARTS

304 430

226 yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called
 784 *Musoa banui* marks the place.

304 When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime
 752 is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the
 824 place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped
 meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and
 dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off
 so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic,
 coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant
rurupari. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly'
 and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had
 died in this way were given to me.

304 When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes
 852 him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women
kōma and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the
 house and another brought out.

304 After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One
 852 pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is
 574 distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is
 taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

304 After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the
 852 house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The
 girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this pur-
 [825] pose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too
 much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very
 painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she
 cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and
 girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together.
 This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and
 Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and
 Tapē and Puta somewhat older than Bori. It is best to have the
 operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later
 and are sometimes made very ill by it.

304 The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs
 (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal
 badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but
 which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they
 are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means
 extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

Some occasions for the use of imun

436

- 1 fathom given to pay for making bull-roarer.
- 1 fathom given to old man for making *wpi* for *wapi* ceremony.
- 1 fathom paid for making slit-gong, together with 10 bamboos of paint.
- 1 fathom given to old woman who performs the operation of cicatrization on a *tsunaun* child.

Several fathoms involved in marriage transactions, number according to whether woman is *tsunaun* or commoner. [583]

1 fathom hung up at door of house to remove *wagun* taboos. [584]

1 fathom given to mother-in-law if inadvertently seen by daughter's husband. [606]

1 fathom given as peace offering from one individual to another with whom he has quarrelled, 'to make good the other man's belly'. [627]

Hung up on the occasion of the funerary rites for a *tsunaun*. [766]

Hung up at the ceremony for a *tsunaun* child when he first sits on his mother's pack. [852]

DISCUSSION

The methods practised in this area illustrate three, if not all four, of the stages which mark 'the evolution of primitive commerce from simple exchange to a coinage system' (H. Balfour, lectures given at the Pitt-Rivers Museum). According to his view the simplest is a process of barter whereby one kind of goods is exchanged for another, the rate of exchange being whatever is mutually agreed upon at the time. Then, for convenience, an agreed rate of exchange is adopted, certain goods being given a fixed value which remains constant. The objects of fixed value may then be termed currency. Much of the trading described in the preceding pages falls somewhere between these two, the rates for, say, the exchange of fish and taro being more or less stable between any two districts, but no absolute value being adopted.¹ With the introduction of sticks of tobacco at the rate of three for a shilling the second stage is definitely reached. The stable values of lengths of shell disks and of teeth also qualify them to be classed as currency. The third or 'money' stage, in which some objects are set apart,

436
437

¹ It is noted by Thurnwald (1912, vol. iii, p. 36) that in Buin (S. Bougainville) only similar kinds of things are exchanged; a thing for temporary use, such as food, will not be exchanged for something permanently lasting, such as a tool. It will be seen that in Buka and North Bougainville, while this holds good in general, e.g. for the fish-taro exchange, it is not universal, since taro may be given in exchange for pots and for *hōbō*.

789 Malinowski's third essential element in the magical act, the condition of the performer (1922, p. 403), seems again to be of secondary importance among these people. Beyond going out early into the bush to search for the necessary leaves, Pinari underwent no preparation for his role in the taro-washing ceremony, and that none was necessary is clear from the fact that when the ceremony was actually in progress, another man, Sobak, was asked to take a principal part in it. The net-whipping ritual witnessed by me at Petats before a pig hunt was undertaken upon a sudden notion, and no steps were taken by Hulusuat, who played the principal part, to put himself into an appropriate mood or condition. Apart from personal observation, there is the negative evidence that in the course of many discussions concerning magical procedure of all kinds, little stress was laid by my informants on special rules to be observed by the men or women concerned therein. The most noteworthy exception is in the case of bonito magic, where the principal performer must neither eat nor sleep until the rites are over. He must also abstain from sexual intercourse, but this taboo applies also to all those who take part in the bonito fishing.

● 784 Before leaving the subject of magical procedure, something must be said about taboo. Although the idea underlying taboo among these people has much in common with that familiar to us in the Maori *tapu*, the stress is, I think, rather different. If the primary connotation in Polynesia may be said to be 'sacred' with 'prohibited' as a corollary, it seems to me that among the natives of the NW. Solomons the relative importance of these two concepts is reversed. Two expressions are relevant in this connexion. In one of these the connotation 'sacred' is perhaps implicit, i.e. the word *tsibun*, which is applied, not to persons, but to places, such, for example, as the retreat of the boys prior to their first puberty ceremony, deep in the recesses of the bush, which it was death to women to see. In describing this my informants said: '*A nōnō tsibun nom.*' 'The *nōnō* (shed in which the boys live) is taboo.' The other expression, much more frequently on their lips, relates to the prohibitions which govern their daily lives. It is applied neither to places nor to persons, but always, so far as my knowledge goes, to actions, such as the eating of certain food by specified persons or groups or at specified times, or the avoidances to be observed between individuals who stand to each other in certain relationships. In referring to taboos of this kind the people say: '*Mom to babin nom*'—

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

481

'we are forbidden'. Many examples of such taboos are scattered throughout the pages of this book, in their appropriate context. Those who break them incur the risk of certain penalties, usually of a very definite and specific kind. To give two examples chosen at random, if the father of a new-born child fails to observe the taboos on his activities which anthropologists call, collectively, *couvade*, the child will die; if a small child eats sugar-cane, warts will appear on his skin. Sometimes the breaking of a taboo by an individual is thought to involve the whole village in its consequences. In any case the offender incurs the displeasure of the community, which is a very real punishment, even if it does not (as it may) go so far as to lead to the making of 'poison' against him. The sanctions appear to be chiefly, if not exclusively, social. I never heard that any of these taboos were prescribed by the *urur* nor are there in my collection of myths and legends any purporting to account for them.

While the actual practical effect of the taboos on the natives is to cause them to refrain from certain actions through fear of consequences, the effect of magical procedure in general is the positive one of giving 'moral support'. I am sure, from watching the demeanour of hunters before and after a rite has been performed, that it does, in fact, increase their chances of success by increasing their confidence. The same thing applies to love magic, and to the measures for the treatment of sickness, call them medicine or magic as you will. As a not unimportant side-issue, it may be noted that in the case of public ceremonies such as that performed for the planting of the new taro garden, there is also the advantage that they are festive occasions, eagerly anticipated long beforehand, and enjoyed in retrospect long afterwards, and further, that they tend to foster a feeling of social solidarity in the members of the group. Taking it by and large, all the positive side of magical procedure with its associated ideas seems to work for the good of native society, and it would appear that efforts on the part of the whites to stamp it out cannot but react to the disadvantage of the community. But, on the other hand, there seems no room for doubt that the fear of black magic casts a great shadow over the existence of each and every individual, a shadow from the oppressive influence of which he is never wholly free. His lot would be vastly happier if this could be removed, but so deep-rooted is his belief that I doubt if any measures that could possibly be devised

XV

OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING
GHOSTS AND SPIRITS

ASSOCIATION OF URAR WITH ANIMALS

775 IT was stated in the foregoing chapter that *urar* have the power to assume the forms of various creatures, in which guise they are visible to human beings. This statement requires further explanation. Those to whom they appear do not recognize them as *urar*, till some untoward happening in their relations with the animal, or fish, or bird in question opens their eyes to the true character of the being with which they have to do. It is said that a man who dies of 'poison' sometimes becomes a shark and goes and eats the man who made the poison against him, then he turns back again into an *urar*.

● [784] The *urar* haunt certain places in the bush. In such spots no one wittingly hunts, fishes, or cuts down trees. Those who inadvertently break this taboo are punished in various ways by the *urar*. If they try to fell the trees, the trees stand up again as soon as they are cut down, or fall in an unexpected direction and kill those standing near. If they fish in the bush pools, they find when they open their baskets to take out their spoil that the fish have changed into snakes, which bite them, or into sharks, which attack them. If they stand on a reef to fish, the reef gradually sinks under them till they are up to their waists in water, and the fish they catch all escape from their nets. People who go alone to places belonging to the *urar* disappear mysteriously and are never seen again. When we passed such places in our journeyings, they would be pointed out to me in awed whispers, and the party always seemed ill at ease till we were out of sight of them. One such spot is at the mouth of the Umu River, which we crossed on our way from Kurtatchi to Baniu. A little lower down from the place at which we crossed it there is a reef over which a wave breaks every now and again, making a circle of foam, which belongs to an *urar* called Urit ('Sea-Urchin'), who makes people drown. A whirlpool in a stream near Porton plantation, about five miles from Kurtatchi, is the location of the

Collectanea

149

against him. But, as will be seen, there are certain conditions for which what we might term natural causes are regarded as sufficient explanation. In either case, whatever is done to combat the disease is looked upon as entirely comparable to the procedure employed to ensure success in procuring food or in making love. Any substance—usually, but not always, some portion of a plant—employed in either connexion is known as *eto*, which, in accordance with what I believe to be the native point of view, I have uniformly translated "medicine." Anyone who knows the appropriate medicine may treat a patient. The "prescriptions" are usually learned from a near relative: father, mother or mother's brother. This knowledge is not necessarily, though it may be, possessed by individuals who are skilled in "making medicine" for other purposes.

FRACTURES AND SPRAINS

A sprain or a strained muscle is described by the same term as a fracture (*takok* = broken). I met one man (at Petats, an islet off the west coast of Buka) and three women (at Kurtatchi) who were known for their skill in such cases. They treated patients of both sexes, except persons to whom they stood in certain taboo relationships which prohibited physical contact. The following procedure is typical:

Ketar, a young woman, strained her shoulder by carrying too heavy a load of taro. I watched her being treated by Pari, an elderly woman, who subsequently gave me details of the secret mixture she used, asking me not to tell any of the other natives. This mixture (*rōm*) consisted of the pulped roots of a plant called *tengnamani* (*Justicia* sp.) mixed with a quantity of *oin* (a red powder, a variety of iron oxide, much used in this region for various magical purposes) and stirred into sea water. Pari has taught the secret to her sister's son, together with the method of using the mixture. At Tabut the root of *wamōmō* (*Erythrina*, the "coral tree") is used in the same manner. When it was ready she took up her lime pot and, putting it close to her mouth, called softly, many times, "Pispoa, Pispoa, Pispoa." Pispoa is the name of the spirit of a man who, when he was alive, was successful with this treatment. Pispoa then came and